

India's Cruel Destiny

A Miscellany of Her Problems under the
British Rule.

BY

C. N. Zutshi, M. R. A. S.,
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Sometime Asstt. Editor of the "HITAVADA"

AND

Author of
THE WAY TO SWARAJYA,
SWARAJYA & INDIAN STATES
and
OTHER BOOKS

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FOREWORD.

From a perusal of this *brochure* it will be evident to the readers that India has been entirely mis-judged by her Western critics whose only delight is to belittle her great past in order to spoil her case for freedom. India is not only meted out an invidious treatment in the Empire, but also her religion, her hoary civilization, her genious and even her cultural inheritance are valued at a discount and seen from a distorted angle of vision. In fact the charges made against her on these scores are of so serious a nature that no Indian, who has even the slightest tinge of love for the Mother-land, can pass over without calling them in question or dealing a sound retort; and it was merely in response to this call of duty that the articles brought together in this volume were originally written and that it is the same call of duty that has now prompted me to draw them out of the Lethe by publishing them in this form for a wider diffusion of truth about India. It is now for the readers to judge as to how far I have been successful in my attempt to pay back these carping critics of India in their own coin and in making out a case for the freedom of the Mother-land.

MUZAFFARNAGAR. }
28/S/1924. }

C. N. ZUTSHI.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.



All parties in India will admit that the political atmosphere is heavily surcharged with the most disquieting elements and the policy of repression inaugurated to calm it rather tends to aggravate it. Is it not unfortunate that such a policy should have been adopted when the Prince is in the country? And is it not still more unfortunate that the wholesale arrests of the leaders should have commemorated the Royal visit? The Government is surely going the wrong way. It is indeed regrettable that the Englishman inspite of his 150 years' connection with India has not yet been able to understand the psychology of the Indian mind.

Are we really in the era of reforms? And is it the way how India will soon become the self-governing partner in the Empire? In view of the present situation the promised land appears to be no better than a mirage and the reforms no better than the dead sea fruit. The policy of repression has brought about a change—nothing short of disillusionment—even in the hearts of those of us who regarded the reforms as an adequate first installment to be followed by others in due succession as steps towards full responsible Government to India. Besides the policy has strengthened the Non-Co-operators whom it has furnished a tangible objective for action. It is foolish to think that repression will stop the fight for further reforms in the country. It is idle to think that the arrest of a few leaders will arrest the whole movement. The history of liberty tells quite a different tale. Instances

can be multiplied *ad infinitum* to prove the futility of repressive methods to allay any popular movement.

Who cannot say that there was as much scope for repression under Lord Minto as it is today; but it is unfortunate indeed that the fullest use is made of this scope under the ægis of a lawyer-Viceroy. The Government of India has surely taken a wrong move in adopting the policy of repression which has not only brought the Government in bad repute but also accounts for, a great deal, the tension of feelings that is growing every day in the country and the wall of misunderstanding which is growing thicker and thicker between the ruler and the ruled. It is impossible for the Indian people to associate themselves with the policy of arrests and the result is that the people and the Government are drifting apart.

How long will this state of things continue to last? What will be the result? And what is the solution to the present situation? These are the questions which every patriot in the country must face and which I may most pertinently ask in the interests of the country and the Government. For the peace of the Government and the progress of the country it is necessary that the policy of repression should be put an end to. The interests of the country demand this. I am candidly of opinion that the suggested Round Table Conference will do immense good and make good understanding yet possible, the policy of trust will be successful in removing the growing unrest which is witnessed in India today. In this connection one cannot but regret Lord Reading's speech to the Moderate deputation and Sir Joynson Hicks' speech moving the amendment to the Address in the House of

Commons on February 14th, which are characteristic of taking the bull by the horns and which, evincing traces of strong excitement, explain their support to the policy of repression. A successful Round Table Conference will be one of the first acts of Lord Reading's Viceroyalty, and it is hoped that the Viceroy will not miss his great chance and prove himself wanting in tact in the face of a delicate situation like the present. Let us hope that the Government will be well advised to remit the repressive campaign and adopt some methods of reconciliation and compromise for removing the root-causes of the present discontent, which alone will ease the situation and solve the present difficulties, promoting good understanding between the ruler and the ruled. I say this in all sincerity, as I am anxious that the British connection should be maintained and the friendship between England and India should grow from more to more.

The "Indian Social Reformer," Dated Feb. 26, 1922.

II.

REFERENDUM FOR INDIA.

SIR,

A well-wisher writing in your paper of the 2nd inst. under this heading, has shown a very short cut to India's goal and suggested a solution which he is proud to say is the only one and which nobody in the country has yet suggested but which to my mind is an impracticable one. The writer, reducing the entire phenomena of Indian unrest and neglecting the different parties that form the warp and woof of the situation and the blunders and mistakes which have contributed to the gravity and complexity of

the same, has discovered the one fundamental factor—the Swarajya—which he regards as the root cause of all the trouble. He is of opinion that the only point of difference between the people and the Government is that of duration; the former desiring to possess it all at once and the latter inclined to grant it by instalments. The solution suggested by the writer is that the Government should refer the question to the country, and if the country supports the Government the leaders should submit and if the majority of the people are for assuming full responsible government the Parliament should grant it at once. The writer, in suggesting this solution which requires further elucidation, has neglected to take into account the fact that a country is represented through its leaders and spokesmen or else what is the writer's conception by the term country which he says the Government should refer to? Does he mean to say that Government should consult each and every man or woman in the country or should the Government hold mass meetings and ask for "hands up for Swarajya" and count votes for or against it? How is the solution to be applied? Does he not admit that Mr. Gandhi voices the sentiments of the majority of the people in India?—but the Government is not prepared to be guided by or act according to the dictates of Mr. Gandhi or the aspirations of his following. What then is the way out of the present difficulties except the Conference of Indian Leaders of all shades of political opinion—the representatives of the people—and the Government, through which compromise may be reached and tension relaxed bringing harmony and peace to the country and the Government.

Yours faithfully,

C. N. ZUTSIL.

'United India and Indian States,' dated 2nd March 1922.

III.

THE INDIAN DEBATE.

Of all the speeches in the debate on India recently held in the House of Commons there were none so remarkable as the utterances of Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor which cannot fail to be appreciated in India and by all fairminded people who value the instincts of liberty in any nation as the highest consummation in national progress. Both Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Spoor speak from their personal knowledge of India and her people and their speeches therefore do not suffer from the defect of being the utterances of Britishers viewing the Indian problems through British eyes. The secret of appreciation by the Indian people of their speeches lies in the words of Col. Wedgwood who said, "The Member for Bishop Auckland and myself are friends of the Indian people in their difficulties in order that, when they come to their own, they may look back to see that even in their dark days there were some in England who stood by them." With the retirement of Mr. Montagu there has been a change in British policy towards India—a change which every subsequent event has confirmed and of which Earl Winteren's speech is but a conclusive proof; and this even Mr. Spoor could not fail to notice; "We were assured that there had been no change in policy since we had had a change in the officials at the India Office, but I do submit that, if that speech represents the attitude of the India Office, there has been a considerable change in spirit."

Speaking on the Indian Military situation both Mr.

Spoor and Col. Wedgwood loudly denounced the colossal figure amounting to half the Indian revenue being spent on Military budget. Mr. Spoor deplored that "in a country 93 per cent of whose people can neither read nor write—and the responsibility for this state of illiteracy rests very largely with the British Government—nearly a half of the total revenue is spent in the maintenance of an army."

Speaking on the political situation Messrs. Spoor and Wedgwood controverted Earl Winterton's speech in which the Noble Earl gave the House to understand that India was becoming progressively peaceful and called the attention of the House to the most vital issue facing the British statesmanship at the present moment in India. Both the speakers depicted the state of India in which there are more than 20,000 political prisoners in gaol—men who according to Mr. Spoor are of high and unquestioned character and are not hostile even now so far as British people as distinguished from the Government are concerned. And "the crime of these 20,000 people," continued the speaker, "is not that they are anti-British; it is simply that they are pro-Indian. Their aggressive assertion of independence and their intense Nationalism have been stimulated by a long continued series of blundering errors in British policy." Both Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Spoor are against the policy of repression adopted in India to check the movement of non-co-operation. Col. Wedgwood says, "We cannot look on contentedly at a state of affairs in which the only possible way of governing India is to put the political leaders in gaol. It may operate for a time, it may operate for years, but in the long run the gaol is no cure for anything." Mr. Spoor is of opinion

that "we certainly shall not suppress it by imprisoning a few thousands of its leaders" because "the prison has not yet been built that will enclose an idea for very long, the gun is not forged that can destroy a will, however, it may manifest itself, that is really making for freedom." When Mr. Spoor says so he lays threadbare the real significance of the movement of non-co-operation, which has been sadly lost sight of by moderates in India and by those Britishers abroad, who because of their extreme materialism cannot bring themselves to believe in the efficacy of soul force. In this connection Mr. Spoor candidly admits;

"It is extremely difficult for those of us who have been reared amid the purely materialistic philosophies of the West, to understand even dimly, the reasoning of the Eastern mind. Longer mental perspectives than are possible in the rush and hurry of modern polities are required, and temperamental sympathies which in the main, are alien to us. So it is that this noncooperation movement is very largely misunderstood by its Western critics, but we do not get over it by calling it fanatical." Rather he is of opinion that Englishmen can defeat non-co-operation by practising co-operation—"the willing ungrudging co-operation of British and Indian on absolutely equal terms in the maintenance of a common wealth jointly enjoyed." Because he says, "the policy of blood and iron can no more bring peace in India than it brought peace in Ireland. It has never brought peace in any country in the world yet." Then the entire question of India's battle for freedom and how far the British methods of defeating India by sending political prisoners to gaol are in conformity with the principles of justice and equity Col. Wedgewood answers with well-seasoned cynicism:—

"I could wish that every member of the House would realise that a man who goes to gaol for conscience or for his country is not a criminal. You can call him what you like but he is not a criminal in our sense of the term; and whether it be Lajpat Rai or whoever it may be, they are men who are making a very great sacrifice for what they believe to be right, and although it is many hundred years since Englishmen had to go to gaol for the liberties of their country, we ought to be able to appreciate the amount of self sacrifice in another race which, modelled upon our history, is trying to do the same thing that our ancestors did 300 years ago."

All real lovers of liberty not only in the British Empire but everywhere will not fail to take these words to heart, which deserve to be written in gold and put in a prominent place in the hall of British Parliament under the heading "Demands of Justice and Fairplay."

Messrs. Spoor and Wedgwood made some specific suggestions. These included the release of all political prisoners, a conference of all parties of all shades of opinion with representatives of the British Government, an enquiry into the working of the dyarchy by a committee, some indication on the part of the Government that they are prepared to consider the whole question of reform at an early date. Mr. Bay Spoor said,

"I believe if the Government would declare now that they are prepared to call this conference on the understanding, of course, that all who take part in it will faithfully and loyally abide by its decisions, and if they will further state that they are prepared to revise the Reform Scheme at a very early date; it will do more to tranquillise India and bring peace in that country and a

better understanding there than anything else could possibly do."

'United India and Indian States' dated 17th August 1922.

IV.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON INDIAN SITUATION.

The speech which Mr. Lloyd George winding up the debate on India made in the House of Commons on February 14, whatever may be its merits from diplomatic point of view, is open to criticism from many points from the Indian standpoint and betrays most singularly the failure of British statesmanship in emerging successfully from the baffling circumstances which the Englishman had to face in his Indian dominion. The speech is a candid expression so far as the principle of holding the British Rule in India and the triumphant diplomacy of Germany as evidenced by her enlisting the sympathy of Turkey in the Great War are concerned.

Referring to the causes of Indian unrest Mr. Lloyd George put his finger on the education of Indians in the English Universities as one of the causes which he said was putting new wine into old bottles which burst and intoxication swept over the East. If free and liberal education which the Indians receive at the English Universities be taken to be the root cause of the Indian unrest it is highly complimentary to India from the Indian standpoint as her sons make thereby good use of the education they learn at great expense and trouble. The British statesmanship would have gloated if the Indians

after receiving that education should have ingrossed themselves in fun and fashion, as they perhaps expected, and never risen above these baser ends of life to any nobler and patriotic work of seeking to free and liberate their mother-land from the trammels of bondage and servitude. They would have proved themselves otherwise false to their country if they did not devote their energies to infusing the spirit of freedom and independence the so-called birth right of the western people which they imbibed from the free and liberal atmosphere in the Oxford or Cambridge halls and which their lives in that atmosphere taught them to regard as the greatest dowry of man and the bringing about of it in their native land as the only consummation of their lives. This has been the good result of such education from the Indian point of view and if the British Statesmanship finds itself discomfitted it is useless to beat the track which the passing snake has left behind it.

Speaking on the secret of the British Rule in India which Mr. Lloyd George said has been maintained by holding the balance between the Hindus and Muhammadans and peoples of other religion. Does it mean that the strength of the British Rule lay in India on the policy of "Divide and Rule!" However the balance has been disturbed considerably by the Hindu-Muslim unity which is one of the prominent features of the present times and which is causing, no small amount of anxiety to the British Government. Had the Turkish question been decided in accord with the religious sentiments of the Muhammadans in India who, it must be said, evinced marked loyalty and true instincts of citizenship by ranging themselves against their co-religionists in the Great

War, the balancing principle of the British Rule in India would not have been effected, much less disturbed, and not at all accentuated the unrest. This has been another instance where the British statesmanship failed to rise to the occasion.

Then Mr. Lloyd George turning to the economic side of the Indian unrest referred to the economic depression consequent upon the shortage of railway stock and congestion on railways as the economic cause of the unrest. This is only saying the partial truth. The whole truth lies somewhere else. Among the real economic causes may be mentioned the least income of £ 1 per head in India as compared against the incomes of all the western countries in the world, the heavy expenses which India has to pay towards the highly paid European staff in the country and above all the growing consciousness in the people of £ 30,000,000 annual drainage from India to England without any commercial return and their righteous indignation at the exploitation of a weak nation by the strong, and these represent the economic aspect of the Indian unrest and not only those mentioned by Mr. Lloyd George.

Referring to the Reform Act Mr. Lloyd George laid great stress on the expediency of keeping the pledge for giving the Reform Act a chance to succeed so that no misapprehension might arise in the minds of the Indians, which he said will have the most disastrous effects upon the friends of the British Rule. However Mr. Lloyd George's assurance may do to create good impression on some of us who might be regarding the Reform as an adequate first installment towards full responsible Government to India it cannot but be remarked and passed with

put being noticed that this consideration of keeping the pledge did not weigh at all when the fate of Turkey was decided by the Peace Conference, which besides marking a burning spot in the Muslim heart, will remain as a history in short of the broken promises and unfulfilled pledges—a fact which has brought the British Government to a fix and face to face with many untoward circumstances and serious predicaments in the country. This has been a great charge against British statesmanship, which history will not easily forget and which so far as the Muslim sentiments in particular and the peace of the country on the whole are concerned, will add to the list of its failures and stand to its discredit.

One gross misapprehension seems to have taken root in the mind of the Englishman that the movement, set afoot in India to ask for the vindication of British justice which has been flouted and for the redress of legitimate grievances, is aimed to ask for the withdrawal of the English from India as is evident from the question which Mr. Lloyd George put to the House knowing whether Mr. Gandhi would be able to govern if the Englishman departed. There is no question of the British withdrawing from India, what India wants is the full dominion status as enjoyed by other civilized countries in the British Commonwealth. How the British Government is going to deal with India to bring about better understanding between the ruler and the ruled will depend not merely on tall talk and do little but on giving proofs of real statesmanship in a spirit of compromise and good will.

The "Muhammadan" dated 16th March 1922.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

WHAT IT LACKS IN.



There can be no doubt that the animosity between the Hindus and the Mohammedians was historic and that the two great communities of India showed no signs of cohesion ever since their co-existence through various stages of their historical evolution in the country—in a word between them unity was unknown. None can say definitely whether it was the loss of political power of the Hindus or the superciliousness of the Mohammedians that deepend their resentment and hatred towards each other and made unity impossible in those times, but this much is certain that a greater and greater gulf yawned between the two communities ever since their lots were cast to be the inhabitants of India. It cannot be denied that, whatever might have been the motives, political, religious or social, that actuated them, there had been certain Mohamadan emperors who adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Hindus and enlisted their sympathy and support. But there had been also some reactionary successors who undid the work of their predecessors and contributed a great deal to the estrangement between the two communities which hitherto made progress impossible in this country. Besides, the recurrences of coercions and conciliations making things uncertain as they stood, rather fomented their excitement than cowed their warring spirit and left the two communities in a highly electrified condition rendering their tempers so

release and mourning at the internment of the All Pals. In a word the two communities are drifting spontaneously towards unity to which end mere word addresses utterly failed to move them an inch. ' are the happy signs of the times, portending, as do, a change for the better in the Hindu-Muslin relations.

Judging from the signs can we say that the unit is complete and is likely to grow permanent? The answer is emphatically in the negative. The unity would only be complete when both the communities have arrived at that stage of existence when they can freely participate in their undertakings whether political or commercial and whether owned by a Hindu or a Mohammadan: when caste prejudices have been given up and when each one of them feels the help and co-operation of the other essential and desirable. For instance, if a few Mohammadans form into a limited company for starting say a periodical, it should, on no account, be the policy of the Directors to appoint the Editorial staff exclusively from among their class. Rather an undertaking of this kind must in all fairness be represented by peoples of as different shades of views and sects as possible within the scope allowed for the choice. In the same way if a few Hindus start a business they should not make it a point to enlist only Hindus as co-sharers and office bearers: one should not move an inch without taking the other in his train—every undertaking of theirs must make for the mingling of both.

A word for the Indian Potentates and I have closed this paper. All the Potentates whether Hindu or Mohammadan, should regard Hindus and Mohammadans on

the same footing and admit into their service both Hindus & Mohamadans without any sense of communal partiality. They should not adopt an extreme policy and the Muslim Potentates admit only Muslim into their service and the Hindu Potentates admit Hindus only or both doing the exact reverse, rather both should give up their time-honoured spirit of communalism and adopt a liberal policy in matters of taking into service the Hindus and the Mohammadans. I take these instances all the more because we must be on our guard against communal prejudices retarding Indian progress and communal interests over-ruling all other considerations of common concern that make for Hindu-Muslim unity, and because it is in this respect that the Hindu-Muslim unity lacks a great deal. In conclusion I feel that unless these considerations begin to weigh upon the minds of the Hindu and Muslim Potentates and the people alike, the Hindu-Muslim unity is not likely to be a permanent and complete feature of the times and India will certainly be a long way off to be called "united".

The "Indian Social Reformer", dated 8th Feb. 1920.

VI.

DIVORCE BETWEEN PROFESSIONS AND PRACTICE.

That British rule in India has been a failure, so far as the fulfilment of the promises and pledges to India is concerned, is beyond the shadow of a doubt. In this paper I shall try to lay bare the stimulation of British policy towards India and prove that a great gulf has existed between professions and practice ever since the first

half of the nineteenth century. In doing so, as it may not be possible within the compass of this short article to treat the subject in detail, I shall content myself with an examination of the salient declarations of British policy showing that British statesmanship has not carried out professions and has betrayed a melancholy spirit of sordid meanness, trying either to nullify or explain them away.

EARLY ENATEMENTS.

The Charter of 1833 may be said to have marked the beginning, in a definite sense, of the deliberate action taken by Parliament in regard to India. It was specifically laid down in that statute, "that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty born there in, shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, under the said company." The interpretation put upon the Act by the Court of Directors was that there was to be no governing caste in British India. Though the wording of this Charter shows the genuine British instinct in its highest form, yet the history of the next twenty years during which time absolutely no heed was paid by the Court of Directors to the enforcement of this Act, stands in mocking contrast and belies the promise held out therein. The Act, to all intents and purposes, remained a dead letter. In the year 1853, at the time of the renewal of the Charter, the attention of the authorities was again drawn to the Act and the enforcement of the provisions of the same was emphatically insisted upon. But little or nothing came out of it. Only regret was expressed for ignoring the Act. Then came the Queen's noble Proclamation the Magna Carta of India—in 1858

following upon the ruins of the chaotic Mutiny movement, wherein the principle of the Act 1853 was once more affirmed in no dubious terms. "We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects....it is Our further will that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." How far this proclamation has been given effect to for the Indianisation of the services is a matter of common knowledge. Perhaps no more striking condemnation of British policy can there be than the fact that the demand of Indians in this behalf has proved a ery in the wilderness.

A CANDID AVOWAL.

In 1860, it was stated that the British Government had exposed themselves to the charge of "keeping promises to the ear and breaking them to the hope." In 1878 Lord Lytton in a confidential despatch wrote to say that "the Act of Parliament is so undefined and indefinite obligations on the part of the Government of India towards its native subjects are so obviously dangerous that no sooner the Act was passed than the Government began to devise means of practically evading the fulfilment of it. We all know that these claims and expectation never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least, straightforward course." Another British statesman, Lord Salisbury, in 1883 characterised the proceedings as mere political hypocrisy. So much for the early enactments. Now for the latest

that rather Christianity has been mainly employed as an instrument of Imperialism and peaceful penetration by European nations in foreign lands.

The history of the world in general and of Europe, in particular amply testifies to the conspicuous part played by religion in guiding the diplomatic relations in Europe in mediaeval times. It was Christianity, the chief motive force, the mainspring, in short the only lever which moved the diplomatic relations and which was the main cause of so many wars and explosions to which Europe in mediæval times was the *de facto* witness. That Christianity was made the pivot on which hung the diplomatic relations of European powers in the Near East is undeniable and fully supported by history. Was not Christianity the chief cause of Russo-Turkish war? In fact the whole history of Russo-Turkish relations between the years 1773 and 1856 centres round the one claim of Russia put forward to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan. Was not the right of protectorate over the Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire the apple of discord between Russia and France? Did not the French invasion and conquest of Algiers lie in the pretext of an insult offered by the Dey to a vice-Consul of France? Did not Germany base her claims for heavy territorial and commercial concessions from the Celestial Empire on the pretext of the alleged murder of two missionaries in China? There can be no doubt therefore that European nations in their diplomatic relations and imperial expansion found in Christianity a very useful tool.

Turning to India we find that the history of Portuguese penetration and ascendancy in India in the

17th Century also corroborates the same truth. Just as it is true that flag follows the trade so it is true that Portuguese flag followed the Christian Missionaries on the West Coast in India. It was the boast of the Portuguese to send the missionaries first to convert the natives of a country and then an army which, with the help of the converts, overran the country. In like manner the Portuguese protectorate over the Indian Christians was established in Cochin, a native state on the West Coast of India.

Coming to modern period in India we find that with all its professions of religious neutrality the Government has never lost sight of the usefulness of Christianity as a support for Imperialism. Are not the Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians encouraged by special patronage to feel themselves the props of the British Empire and base their claims for favours on the strength of their connection with the dominant race? Are not certain highly paid services practically reserved for them? Are not their commercial interests especially protected? Is not Justice administered differently to them? To Englishmen this seems to be a natural state of things. Is it creating an atmosphere of fair field and no favour? The Arya Samaj, for some time in the past, was held in bad odour and branded seditionist ostensibly because it proved to be a destructive weapon against the feeble instrument of Christianity. With whatever political issues the Arya Samaj may have been shown to be connected the secret truth of its being denounced may be easily seen to have been blurted out in the following words of Sir Valentine Chirol who, in his book on "Indian Unrest" says,

"But whatever their (*Young Western Educated Hindus*) special bent might be, the vast majority professed allegiance to Western ideals.... The enthusiasm kindled in the first half of the last century by the great missionaries, like Carey and Dnff, who had made distinguished converts among the highest classes of Hindu Society, had begun to wane; but if educated Hindus had grown more reluctant to accept the dogmas of Christianity they were still ready to acknowledge superiority of Western ethics. In its zeal to proclaim the inherent superiority of Aryan civilization over Western civilization it (*The Arya Samaj*) claims to have discovered in the Vedas germs of all the discoveries of modern science..... But it (*a very strong under-current of anti-British feeling*) is rife wherever the Arya Samaj is known to be most active and the Arya Samaj has already proved a very powerful proselytising agency" (The italics are mine.) In fact in it the Christian missionaries found a stumbling block to their mission of conversion and peaceful penetration. In Indian states, too, the Christians, and Christian missionaries are shown special favour because of their connection with the paramount power in India.

Apart from its being useful as an instrument of peaceful penetration in peace, Christianity has been found equally useful in serving a secret and perhaps a more sacred purpose of imperialism in war times too. A Christian missionary besides being an exponent of purity and morality, as understood in Europe, to the dumb humanity, is an expert at changing colours with the Chamilion. This is what an imperialist nation found out quite within recent memory. The Spie System of Germany brought to light and the activities of some of

the highly estimable gentlemen called the German Missionaries exposed during the Great War fully exemplified and demonstrated the importance of Christianity in war and peace alike. Such were in brief the various services rendered by Christianity in the cause of imperialism. We may now, without fear of contradiction, safely affirm that in fact one of the most potent and quite unobserved instruments of Imperial expansion has been the so called sublime Christian Missions of Europe. Then why not look into your own house and why cast aspersions on others ?

The "Vedic Magazine" July 1924.

VIII.

'RENDER UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S. CHRISTIANITY & INDIAN POLITICS.'

Great Disappointment of Christianity in India.



Under this heading I have tried in this short article to set-forth what appears to me to have been the attitude of Christian Missionaries in India towards Indian polities, how far India stands in need of Christianity today and to enumerate the causes which contributed to their estrangement from fostering and sympathising with the political aspirations of the Indian people. I have chosen this title because I believe that the injunction of the Master does not mean that there are hard and fast distinctions between religion and politics, that one is entirely outside the pale of the other or that there is *something* in it which prevents a missionary from being a politician. In an ideal state the influence of religion in moulding man's conduct in every department of life is

pher always soaring up in higher atmosphere neglected to know the common life of the people below with all their untold misery and poverty, much less cared to ameliorate their wretched condition. This state of things could not be redeemed and their task rendered smooth owing perhaps to their ignorance of vernaculars which they for long neglected to learn and which may to some extent account for their apathy to this abject side of Indian life. And then how far an alien political domination has to answer for the wretchedness of the multitudes toiling under it, never disturbed their thoughts; far from it their strict religious neutrality shocked the Indian people and widened the gulf between the Indians and the Europeans rather than helped the two communities to realise that there is no difference between them in the eye of God and that they are but the off-shoots of the same parental stock.

These were in brief the various causes why the Christian Missionaries failed to endear themselves to the masses in India. What India wants from Christianity to-day are examples and not principles. The days for making this man or that man read the Bible or go to the church are over, and with the close of the great war Europe has begun to feel the throbings of that religious pulse which was in danger of ceasing to beat at all; so that Christianity is once more the religion of the Saviour Jesus, but with a new vision of her bounden duty towards India—her comrade—in—arms—the duty of working out side by side with the Indians the era of reconstruction inaugurated in India to-day, upon the success of which depends the physical, moral and spiritual salvation of India. India wants men like Mr. C. F. Andrews to

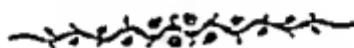
join her ranks for working out that salvation, and happy will be the signs of the times if more and more men endowed with that new-born vision of human service are forthcoming to join us from the ranks of Christianity which so far India stands in need of. Let us then close with the prayer.

"God give us men, A time like this demands;
 Great hearts, strong minds true and willing hands;
 Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
 Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
 Men who possess opinions and a will;
 Men who have honour; men who will not lie."

The "Vedic Magazine" August 1920.

IX.

SELF-DETERMINATION & INDIA'S CLAIM.



It cannot be doubted that the great war has given rise to many new problems and discarded the old ones that hitherto faced the whole world which, with the close of the war, has to be reconstructed on a new basis, and which is said to be henceforth guided not by Military but moral force. The change that the war has brought about in world's relations is positively more colossal, farreaching and profound than any that has ever taken place in the past, and with the evolution of new principles and doctrines a field for controversy and discussion has opened and a literature has grown up to be handed down from generation to generation as an unparalleled legacy of the great war. In all this literature the common strings on which nearly all the writers have

well be questioned as to how much of Christianity still retains its hold on Europe. Were it really a force tending to the effect that Mr. Archer attributes it, why should it have lost force in the lands of its propagandists and why, on the very face, should Hindu Pantheism have permeated "the religious conceptions of Germany, America and even England." I would pause here and only say to Mr. Archer "Physician heal thyself." Even if it be granted for a moment that India would become fit for freedom through the adoption of Western civilization, where then would be a "home" to rule; far from it India should retain her own civilization, a civilization which has a high spiritual-value and is surely not without elements of greatness. India has therefore a better claim to "self determination" than one who wears hat, coat and trousers and can smoke cigars and drink wines.

The principle of "self determination" however new it may seem in the mouths of the westerners, is nothing new to India and is the same as that preached by Shri Krishna called 'Svadharma' in ancient India. The old communal organization of the village, prevalent in ancient India, in the words of Professor Monier Williams, "was self-Government in all its purity," and with its headman, Panchayat and other local officers worked well the machinery of the village government. India, well knew and knows what is, 'Rajdharma' and 'Prajadharma'! Sir John Woodroffe, a learned and impartial writer, says;—

"Some seem to think that because India had not the ballot-box and hustings and other paraphernalia of political western life, it did not know what self-government is.....These who say that this country has never known self-government do not themselves know their subject."

Before closing this paper I think I should like to say a few things more to clear myself from the implications which otherwise, may give rise to misgivings in the minds of the readers. Firstly, by what I have said above in defence of Indian civilization I do certainly mean that the right of political autonomy be conceded to India, as early as possible. Secondly that it is absurd to call India "barbarous" as Mr. Archer has done, for no one, however ignorant, would admit this and let pass without calling it in question. Lastly the attack which Mr. Archer has made on India and unmistakably made under cover of beguiling sympathy pouring much mud and dirt on her civilization and proclaiming her "unfit for freedom" merely on that score, is an insidious one and well evidences the political basis of the book — "*India and the Future.*"

The "Vedic Magazine" September 1920.

X.

NEED FOR HOME-RULE IN EDUCATION.



Unlike the Shakesperean mercy English education in India has been a double curse cursing him that gave and him that received. To the latter it has resulted in the loss of his traditional religion, morality and culture—still more the wider diffusion of its too liberalizing an influence, killing the ancient spirit of sexual disparities, has introduced many a dark scandal in the Indian society—and to the former it has been a cruel rock upon which have been shipwrecked his passionate hopes to create an all-pervading monopoly in administrative and social

distinctions. Thus "even-handed justice commands the ingredients of our poisoned chalice to our own lips." All this has been, as an Anglo-Indian openly declared to me some years ago, due to the initial mistake the English made in educating the Indians. That generous impulse of Lord Macaulay which first promoted England to impart to the Indians the knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of English language was the germ of the evils grown thick and waxen fat during the last century. Though many bacteriologists have of late tried to discover that dangerous education bacillus and suggested remedies under the cloak of educational theories encouraging or discouraging higher education for repairing the damage already done by that one praiseworthy mistake, yet none has been so generous in putting his finger on the right spot and given so convincing a proof of his sincere efforts in the cause of the country as that able Sir John Woodroffe from whose recent essay on Indian education,—"*The Seed of Rass*"—I adopt the present article more, with a view to give a wider publicity to his views in a form more easily accessible to the reading public than for any purpose of self-complacency or claiming any originality... I have had the pleasure of being profited by his another publication—"*Is India Virilized?*"—and feel bound to appreciate and thank him for his great contribution to the cause of our country. Sir John's keen insight into the things Indian coupled with his knowledge of Sanskrit renders him an authority on the subject, and add to this, the command of his own language stands him in good stead in the lucid exposition of all that is unquestionably of high value in Indian culture and civilization.

The question of Indian education is approached here from the standpoint of the loss India has suffered with regard to her ancient culture to ascertain why she failed to preserve her racial culture and how it is possible to make amends for the past and hope for a bright future. In order to do this we have to go deeper into the things and bear in mind that just as a human being possesses the Spirit of Life and the material body—the former constant and unchanging while the latter subject to change, so there is also the spirit of the race, 'Sangskara,' or the general national character and the particular and transient forms otherwise known as 'institutions and customs'—the one more enduring and the other more changing under the stress of time and space or of certain external causes affecting the race. Thus education if it can be of any good to the race it is given it must be suited to foster that which is enduring in that particular race. Similarly if education has to bring forth anything, as it ought to literally, in the case of Indians it must bring forth the Indian 'Sangskara;' it must *prima faci* give it a free full play and then develope it rightly. English education has exercised a choking influence on the Indian 'Sangskara' much in the same way as the heap of rubbish does a shooting plant. The root cause why English education in India has been a failure so far is rightly indicated by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his recent book, '*The Center of Indian Culture.*' Dr. Tagore says:—

"The conditions of one country are never quite the same as those in another. Britain's educational policy in Ireland may not exactly resemble her policy in India. But there is at least one vital point of similarity in regard to the result—our mind is

not in our studies. In fact it has been wholly ignored that we have a mind of our own. That is to say, the engineering feat of skill in digging the canal, with its numerous locks and bunds, has been marvellous and the cost considerable—only the water refuses to flow through. The engineers condemn the water for its obstreperousness; we take the side of the water and condemn the engineers. In the meanwhile the great gaping gulf remains arid. Let me say in a whisper behind the backs of these irate engineers that the natural drainage of the country has been tempered with and the country is taking the revenge."

This brings us to the second part of our enquiry, viz., how best to bring forth the Indian 'Sangskara' and foster its growth, which involves the need for home-rule in education. There can be no doubt that there are some fundamental characteristics and typical out-look on life, which clearly distinguish the people of one race from all others. These racial distinctions must be accounted for in the educational system of a country. Far from it, education in India has been and is given generally by Englishmen and English educated Indians who are worse than their masters and who imbibing their masters' ways of living and habits form a great contrast in their mode of thinking, habits and even character to those, whom they teach. This state of things could not and cannot help in fostering the Indian 'Sangskara' or the national character. What is now desired is the increased number of Indians who are not aping fine gentlemen but models of typical Indians to give what is called a 'national education'—an education suited to the needs of the people. It is mockery to see an Englishman teaching Indian religion, philosophy, art and literature which can best be excited by an Indian alone, and it is natural that he glory in what his race has produced. Then the

objective sciences have never been taught with reference to Indian questions or to the facts of Indian life; a knowledge picked up from English Text books based on the conditions of English life does no good to the Indians in this work-a-day world. Still more important is the question of Indian culture which should not be neglected as has been the case in the past but should be given a co-ordinate rank with the English language and culture which I am by no means opposed to. It is certainly injurious to neglect this aspect of the question in determining what education would be most suited to the needs of the people we have to educate. I am inclined to think that this happy mingling of the Western and Eastern cultures in the educational system of the country, if properly managed, will be one sovereign remedy for removing the ills of the past, and besides teaching the Indians what is of worth in the West, will help them a long way to value their cultural inheritance and realise their own 'selves'. The Indians will then be able to follow the suit of Japan and assimilate foreign food to their advantage and preserve their traditional religion and civilization. Japan has become a powerful nation not by becoming a mere 'sedulous ape' of a foreign civilization, but by judiciously mingling the elements of her ancestral culture with the good ones of the West. It is through this process of her making that Japan in the course of half a century has become a great power whose friendship is sought by the other great powers of the world and whose enmity no one dares to provoke.

To sum up therefore if India desires to attain to that pinnacle of glory and become an independent source of light in the world confident of her past contribution

to world culture, she must claim home rule in education—a claim by no means disloyal—and in proportion the spirit of the Indian peoples acquires power to express itself the need for acquiring control by the Indians over the education of their country becomes urgent and inevitable.

The "Hindustan Review" May-June 1920.

XI.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD CULTURE.

Some of the recent books on India have made it quite clear that the protagonists of Western culture have been too lavish in their estimate of any thing Indian and quite unsparing in passing their final verdict on India's religion, her philosophy, literature and art. To them Indian religion is a false superstition, Indian philosophy a mere guess-work and Indian Art and literature crude and grotesque. They have told us as well that we have had no glorious past, no inspiring history that India is a pool of conservatism, a sheltered backwater unaffected by the currents of modern life and that therefore the only chance of making herself progressive like the West lies in her giving up her 'barbarism'. These are in brief the charges made against India. How she is going to refute them and what are the means to do so are the questions which must strike every patriotic Indian in the country. I am inclined to think that the solution lies in the spirit of self-assertion which the young India is called upon to display. One of the most effective

means to the end lies in the wider publicity India can give to the World or at least to her enemies of her views on the subject. It is to this end that I subscribe my humble quota of views in the present article which aims to enumerate as briefly as possible the great contributions India has made to the sum total of world culture—contributions which have gone to the making of the so-called mighty West—and to show that India has envolved a type of civilization which had far-reaching influence on the cultural movement of the West.

That India has been the cradle of an ancient civilization, more ancient than the western has been acknowledged by the discriminating scholars of the west. Prof. Kenneth Morris during the course of his lecture delivered in the Raja Yoga College, Point Loma, California said:

"I doubt Alexander carried here any cultural impulse in the ordinary sense; it is our Euro-American conceit to imagine the Greek was the highest thing in civilization in the world at that time. We may take it that Indian civilization was far higher and better in all essentials; certainly the Greeks who went there presently, and left a record, were impressed with that fact."

And then of all the three ancient literatures of the world, Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, Sanskrit is "more copious than Latin, more exquisitely refined than Greek and more perfect than either."

"The Sanskrit, is the most ancient type of the English of the present day, (Sanskrit and English are but varieties of one and the same language,) so its thoughts and feelings contain in reality the first roots and germs of that intellectual growth which by an unbroken chain connects our own generation with the ancestors of the Aryan race,—with those very people who at the rising and the setting of the sun listened with trembling

hearts to the songs of the Veda, that told them of bright powers above, and of a life to come after the sun of their own lives had set in the clouds of the evening. These men were the true ancestors of our race, and the Veda is the oldest book we have in which to study the first beginnings of our language of all that is embodied in language. We are by nature Aryan, Indo-European, not Semitic; our spiritual kith and kin are to be found in India, Persia, Greece, Italy, Germany; not in Mesopotamia, Egypt or Palestine."

So says Prof. R. T. H. Griffith, an authority on Sanskrit. It is the Sanskrit language that gave the key to the science of modern European philology in the beginning of the 19th century at the introduction of the Sanskrit grammar by Panini in Europe, while the science of philology was known to the Indians at least 3,000 years ago. Prof. Max Müller, an authority on the subject says, "The Hindus and the Greeks are the only nations who developed the science of grammar; but the achievements of the Greeks in grammar are poor indeed compared with marvellous work of Panini--the greatest grammarian that the world has seen." Then Ramayan and Mahabharatha are the two great monumental works of Indian literature--the two great epic poems of the world. These Indian epics have exercised the same influence in moulding the social and religious life of India as the Iliad and the Aeneid did in Europe, which compared to them are but shorter poems and with perhaps less lofty ideals and teachings.

Turning to the contributions of India in the sphere of art and sciences both applied and exact, let us take the system of Indian music which is unquestionably the most exquisitely fine and sweet and the most natural system in the world, being based on Rags and Raginis

set to the various human emotions. It is this system of music which, however strange to the western ear, has revolutionised the Western system of music and is of much earlier origin than the Western and has a history of 3,000 years of development behind it. Prof. Victor Goloubew, a famous authority on Indian art speaking in Paris at a meeting held in the Hall of the Institute Oceanographique on 12th June 1920 paid a glowing tribute to the immortal contribution of India, ancient and modern, to the domain of art which has enriched humanity.

Turning to the science of Mathematics the contributions of India have been none the less significant. That ancient and modern India has produced mathematicians of the highest ability is beyond the shadow of a doubt, and some of the ancient Indian methods of calculations, as for instance the Sankhya system, are marvels of swift and exact calculation in the largest figures in Arithmetic. "The Hindus invented the decimal number system, purely negative numbers and zero, they knew the fundamental operations, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division." Europe owes much to India also in Algebra. "Arabian writers translated Hindu works on Algebra in the 8th century and Leonardo of Pisa learnt the science from the Arabians and introduced it in modern Europe." Mr R. C. Dutta in his history of civilization in ancient India says: "The Hindus had discovered the first laws of geometry in the 8th century before Christ and imparted it to the Greeks." This shows that geometry was discovered in India.

In the domain of applied sciences the science of medicine and civil engineering were known to the Hindus sixteen centuries back. The engineering work of tunnel-

than the land of dreamers and visionaries, that India has been the store-house of wisdom for the whole world to draw upon, that it is India that has given to the world the greatest poets, the greatest philosophers, and the greatest religious teachers and that, while the other ancient countries, Egypt, Assyria or Babylon have gone to the dust with their hourly civilization, it is India which is still growing and breathing and is still a living force in the world. Take for instance the romantic movement of Europe in the 19th century which was not without the influence of the poetry of India. The *Shakuntala* of Kalidas made such a profound impression on the German philosopher—Goethe, one of the great exponents of European romanticism that he burst into these lines:

"Wilt thou the blossoms of the spring, the fruits of
the summer, the leaves of the autumn;
Wilt thou what charms and captures,
Wilt thou what satisfies and nourishes,
Wilt thou in one name conceive heaven and earth,
I name, *Shakuntala*, thee, and everything is said."

Then the Bhagwati Gita has given a great impetus to the thought-world of the West and influenced very much the writings of Thomas A. Kempis, Browning and Tennyson. The noble teachings of Gita, Vedas and Upanishads have made an indelible stamp upon Emerson and Thoreau, the two American philosophers. Thoreau speaking of the Vedas says: "I have read (some) of the portions of the Vedas) fall on the like the light of a higher and purer luminary, which describes a loftier course through a purer stream,—free from particulars, simple, universal. It rises on me like the full moon after the stars have come out wading through some far

summer stratum of sky." Emerson in his poem "Brahma" says:

"If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain thinks he is slain.
They know not well the subtle ways,
I keep, and pass, and turn again."

These have been in brief the various and varied contributions of India to the sum total of world culture which some of the superficial western writers seem wholly to hoodwink, and it is strange irony of fate that India inspite of her being the fountain-head of world culture should be made a target of cultural attacks at their hands. The only explanation that could be made as to why she is subject to such cultural onslaughts seems to me to lie in the oft-quoted words of Sir John Woodroffe who says: "The institutions of a coloured people particularly of a politically servient one are very likely to appear inferior to those without understanding and freedom from prejudice." These writers seem to forget that the path of upward evolution lies in peaceful harmony and in the modern method of "sympathetic treatment" of others' religion and institutions in a spirit of good will and mutual respect and not in mistaking others as our deadly enemies and engaging ourselves in world-wide strife and discord. Hence unless we realize and appreciate these vital truths of real progress the poet's word anticipated long before that:

"East and West without a breath,
Mixed their dim lights like life and death.
To broaden into boundless day,"

will be falsified and remain no better than a day-dream.

The "Hindustan Review" October-November 1920.

During the transition period ushered in India by the influx of the Greeks we find a variety of political organisations existing in the country. In the city of Patala the military command was "vested in two military kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority." There were the Gedrosioi, "a free people with a council for discussing important matters of state"; the Sarbaceae living in cities but enjoying a democratic form of Government; the Nysians forming an autocratic republic; and the Malavas and Ksudrakas, both keenly jealous of liberty, whom Alexander's pressure had welded into a close alliance by ties of inter-marringe and other social relations. It was the same Greek pressure exerted by Alexander and Seleucus that demanding concentration of authority, submerged these Sovereign States, and republics to produce the mighty Mauryan Empire, whose chief features of Government organisation with certain modifications continued to be adopted by the Mohammadan statesmen till the 16th Century in India.

Let us now sketch as briefly as possible the system of Government under the Mauryan Empire in order to give the readers a clear idea of the working of the political institutions existing at that early period of history in India. The Empire comprised the whole of India except the extreme south and was ruled by the Emperor and his Viceroys, the capital and central regions being under the personal charge of the Emperor and the provinces ruled by the Viceroy. Both the Emperor and the Viceroy were assisted by a nominated Council of State of at least 8 Ministers each incharge of a department and each assisted by two under secretaries. These Minis-

ters had the power of transacting only routine work while the questions of principle and policy were discussed and settled by joint consultation. The Imperial executive comprised of 18 departments each having board of advisers for its assistance. The functions of all these departments were the same as of a present-day cultured state: Public Works Department, Animal Department, Land Records and Revenue Department, Trade and Customs Department. Then there was the War Office consisting of 6 departments each administered by a board and having under them an army of agents who served as Police and Military Inspecting Officers, detective police, spies and so forth. The judicial administration was carried on by the two kinds of courts called the '*Dharma sthiya*', and the '*Kanta Keshodhan*', each consisting of three judges and three prosecutors. In villages the disputes were settled by the village Panehayats which were elected bodies and, though subject to the general supervision of the government, enjoyed an ample measure of autonomy. This system of village Panehayats seems to have lent some of the features to the municipal organisation. There were city corporations like the Patliputra Corporation which looked to the welfare of the urban population. Such was the system of administration, in short, which was in vogue in the Mauryan dominions. It was this system which, while contained federal, democratic and conciliar elements in governmental machinery, was followed by the three succeeding Hindu Empires, viz., the Andhra, the Gupta and the Vardhan, after the fall of the Mauryan Empire in 2nd Century B. C. Not only that, but the chief features of the Mauryan organisation were to some extent adopted by the Pathan Kings.

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now become fully convinced of the unworkable nature of the dyarchy set up in our midst by the new constitution, so that they are now the keenest advocates of a substantial measure of self-government. The non-co-operators who, at one time tried to galvanise the whole country by launching their campaign of non-violent action, passive resistance and boycott of councils, courts and foreign goods, aiming to end or mend the present system of Government are now completely disillusioned by the Utopian nature of their programme. All parties in short have now become aware of the imperfections and limitations of their respective programmes. Their long experience of wandering in isolation and division chasing the mirage of the promised land, has brought home to them the inefficacy of divided action and taught them the lesson that merely personal causes and party responsibility for the present state of national polities will only tend to detract united attention from the fundamental issues of national progress now facing India in her moment of greatest crisis. Happily the minds of all political parties have now been focussed on the need of the hour which according to a concurrence of opinions among them lies in the concentration and unification of the country's energies so far wasted through different channels in order to attain the common goal—"Swarajya"—the freedom of the motherland. Distributaries only tend to weaken the force of the main current of the stream. It is surely a happy sign of the times that the spirit of give and take has now come to dominate the situation. Having met with a series of disappointments in Britain even the Rt. Honourable Mr. Shastri discerns the gravity of the present situation and is convinced that there is no

hope of early redemption from foreign rule, if India cannot speak with one voice and make one manly demand. There is also a change in the angle of vision of the leader of the Home Rule League. Dr. Besant who not long ago regarded Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of a movement which must inevitably lead to anarchy and bloodshed, now looks upon him as the very personification of peace. Her tour in England has convinced her of the necessity for unity as the essential of Swarajya. What she said to a representative of the Associated Press in an interview on her arrival at Bombay on August 29, deserves attention:—

"The Chief Hindrance to our work was the idea in England that India was so divided into opposing parties that there was no one able to speak for it as a whole and no one with whom the Government could deal with a certainty of giving satisfaction. I see no reason why all who wish for Home Rule should not unite in drawing up a Commonwealth of India Bill to which object all personal feelings would be subordinated. When that Bill is drawn up it will be necessary to carry on a strong and sustained agitation in its support until it is accepted by Parliament and I believe that such an acceptance will be compelled by the British public opinion, but union among ourselves is the *sine qua non*."

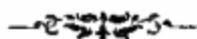
The call of Dr. Besant to gather our forces and lay our heads together to the drafting of such a bill which will, correctly speaking represent the demand of India, is a most opportune one and the supreme need of the hour. The political significance of 'Swarajya' lies in the parliamentary self-government in India, and the task of drawing up such a Bill is certainly not beyond the power of the Indian genius. The Indian genius is certainly not dead, it is still robust, vigorous and capable of self-

assertion, but it is sadly diminishing from lack of unity among the leaders of thought in India. Hence, if we really want to make ourselves felt, let us with one voice represent the Indian demand to the British Parliament which it would find no easy task to thwart. In a word let us then unite for Swarajya eschewing our petty differences, rising above party-factions and sub-merging our commercial and sectarian jealousies in the common welfare of the motherland. The interests of the country demand this. Let us now fully understand that the way to success and the emancipation of India lies in our united action, in rallying under one flag and carrying upon our bosoms the one common badge of unqualified and devoted service to the motherland. It is in this vision of her sons marching under one flag and making the freedom of the motherland their one common battlecry, that I see glory for India ahead. Divided we fall, united we stand. Let it be clearly borne in mind that the path of progress lies in harmony and unity and not in running at one another's throats and taking them as our deadly enemies. It is in this spirit of patriotic service and united action that our duty as the true sons of mother-India lies, and it is absolutely in this spirit of work alone that we can enforce upon her grievous wrongs and do real service to Motherland.

The "Hindustan Times", dated 12th October 1924.

XIV.

INDIA AND THE AFTERMATH OF LABOUR.



The defeat of the Labour Ministry and the general election which has followed, as a result of the Liberal amendment being carried in Parliament, have dissolved the cob-webs of political speculations in India. The imminent prospect of the Labour Government going into the wilderness has not only set at naught the many fine-spun prophecies with regard to India but has also stultified all political parties in the country. To one who has been consistently watching the trend of activities of the different political parties in India for the last few months it is as clear as the noon-day sun that these have all been governed by the consideration of having "a sympathetic Labour Government" in Whitehall. Even the extremist section of the Indian public opinion did not altogether throw out the proposals of the Lee Commission without a discussion because of the assurance that the Labour party was in power. And then Mr. Macdonald's declaration that the report of the Reform Enquiry Committee will be made to yield results brought the Moderates and Liberals alike on the tip-toe of expectations for an early concession of a satisfactory measure of responsible government to India and gave rise to many optimistic fore-casts with regard to the possibility of improving the situation in India. But the fact of the Labour Government being driven to the polls at the present juncture, when the constitution of India is still in the melting pot, has rendered these fore-casts null and void and frustrated the much-entertained expectations with regard to the future of India.

What will be the result of the general election on India remains to be seen; but this much is certain that, if the Labour party returns to power with a clear majority, it is likely that the pledges which the party has made to India may be redeemed. While on the contrary, if either the Conservatives or the Liberals gain ascendancy, the fate of India is doomed, and even if a Liberal-Conservative coalition—a contingency which does not at all seem unlikely—is the alternative which India will be called upon to face, it would be equally prejudicial to the interests of India. India has known enough of a Peel's or a George's Government. She knows too well what would be Lord Peel's attitude with regard to the claims of the services as recommended by the Lee Commission or the claims of Indians in Kenya, and then she has already burnt her fingers at Mr. Lloyd George's Turkish decisions. Lord Peel's despatch, in reply to the first Assembly's demand for constitutional advance, rejecting the suggestion for a further expansion of the Reform scheme is still fresh in our memory. And then it was during the Conservative regime that the Salt Tax was certified in the teeth of popular opposition. The leader of the Conservative party Mr. Baldwin, who expects to return with a Liberal support, in his speech at the Queen's Hall, defining his party's policy towards India, has made it amply clear that he would have no compromise of any kind with the demand for fuller self-government put forward by the public opinion in India. He said:—

"There can be no concession to any un-warrantable agitation and there can be no toleration for the destructive methods of the extremists, if the country is to be saved from the dangers at present besetting it. A firm and definite policy will alone restore order—a policy based on the letter and the spirit of the Reforms promised and guaranteed to India"

How far the Conservatives, in the hay-days of their power interpreted "the letter and the spirit of the reforms" is a matter of common knowledge in India. Mr. Lloyd George's Steel-Fraue speech, describing the reforms "in the nature of an experiment, to be treated as an experiment," is not yet forgotten in India. What prospect of progress under the Conservatives has the future in store for India is beyond all question or cavil. Under the circumstances, therefore, it is clear that unless and until Labour returns to power and is enabled to carry on the Government with a clear majority India's destiny is sealed.

Whatever be the relative strength of political parties in England and whichever party may come or go, it has become indubitably clear to India that the question of her future destiny has now again come to rest on the whims and caprices of the British parties in England. It must be clearly borne in mind that so long as India does not seek to rely upon herself there is no hope of her early redemption from the foreign yoke. The inevitable lesson of the hour is for her to base her demand for self-government on her own organised strength and not to leave it to the good-will of the British parties in England. She must, therefore, be self-reliant and bestir to gather her strength to make her demand irresistible, or else she is not likely to emerge successfully from her struggle of liberty.



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उपवास : तीव्र संवेदना का योतके

सुरेशराम भाई ने २३ अप्रैल की दीपहर से आमरण उपवास शुरू किया है। उन्होने इसके पहले १५ दिन का उपवास किया था। उस उपवास का पारण ८ अप्रैल को हुआ। उस दिन मैंने उनकी जो स्थिति देखी, वह काफी अच्छी थी। मन उनका दिलकुल सचेत, जाग्रक और स्वस्थ था। शरीर कमजोर था, लेकिन बहुत स्वस्थ था, और समस्या की तरफ देखने की उनकी जी वृत्ति थी, वह भी मुझे बहुत उदात्त मालूम हुई। मैं ऐसा समझता था कि उनकी इस तपस्या के बाद, शायद वहाँ की परिस्थिति सुधरती चली जायगी। परन्तु कुछ दिन पी शान्ति के बाद फिर घटनाएँ होने लगी छुरेयाजी की ओर दूसरी तरह की। उनके पत्र से मालूम हुआ कि दो दूड़े मुक्तमानों को बहिश्त भेज दिया गया। एक कम्युनिस्ट तथा और एक दूसरे तथा जो दोनों हिन्दू थे, उनको भी

मार दाला गया। पत्र १८ तारोत्र का था। उसमें उनके चित्त को, व्यथा व्यक्त की गयी थी। लेकिन वल मालूम हुआ कि उन्होंने आमरण उपवास शुरू कर दिया है। वे शान्ति-सेनिक हैं। उन्होंने यह लिखा है कि जहाँ हम रहते हैं वहाँ अगर ऐसी परिस्थिति पेंदा हीती है, और उस परिस्थिति पर हम किसी तरह कावू नहीं पा सकते हैं; ती हमारे जोने में क्या अर्थं रह जाता है? कौनसा मतलब रह जाता है? ऐसी उनकी उत्कट भावना है। वह तड़ेन इस उपवास के रूप में प्रकट हुई है। यह उपवास स्वर्यस्फूर्त प्रार्थना है। यह उनकी अपनी तीव्र संवेदना का और हृदय की पोड़ा वा धोतक है। हम भी प्रार्थना करें कि उनकी यह प्रार्थना शोध ही कलदेयी हो और उनका उपवास सकुल होने की परिस्थिति शोध हो प्रस्तुत हो।

पटना, २७-४-'६८ —दादा धर्माधिकारी